

**PAPER 28 THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT FROM THE
LATE EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY**

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The History of The Indian Subcontinent From The Late Eighteenth Century To The Present Day

A fifth of the world's population lives in the Indian subcontinent. While today the region's place in the global world order is widely recognised, this is in fact only the most recent chapter in a longer history. This paper offers an understanding of the part played by the Indian subcontinent role and its people in the making of the modern world. From the decline of the great empire of the Mughals and the rise of British hegemony, to the rise of nationalism, the coming of independence and partition, the consolidation of new nation states despite regional wars and conflicts, and the emergence of India as the largest democracy in the world, this paper is a comprehensive and analytical survey of the subcontinent's modern history. The dynamic and complex relationships between changing forms of political power and religious identities, economic transformations, and social and cultural change are studied in the period from 1757 to 2007.

There will be 30 lectures, 4 revision classes in the Easter Term and 6 supervisions singly or in pairs.

Key themes and brief overview:

The paper begins by examining the rise of British power in the context of economic developments indigenous to southern Asia; it analyses the role played by Indian polities and social groups in the expansion of the East India Company's activities. It tracks the emergence of modern intelligentsias and their definitions of what constituted proper religious, public and domestic behaviour. The paper places these changes in the context of the concurrent decline of Indian handicrafts and the impact of British revenue arrangements on rural society, and explores India's place in the development of global capitalism.

The central section of this paper is framed by the dramatic events associated with the rise of nationalism. It explores anti-colonial movements and Gandhian politics in the 1920s, '30s and '40s, and the events that led up to the Partition of 1947. Students may, however, opt to study, among other topics: the society and culture of particular Indian regions; the changing conditions of the peasant, tribal and industrial worker, the incidence of famine, the economic impact of free trade and the nature of colonial governmentality, all subjects which have benefited from recent research.

The paper goes on to examine political developments in South Asia since Independence. It considers relations between centre and the states, planned development, affirmative action and the rise of the Hindu right in India; the dominance of the Army in Pakistan and problems of instability and militancy in Bangladesh.

Primary Sources are suggested for each topic and marked with an asterisk *. You will get most out of each topic if you make time to consult these, as well as the secondary material. Some of these sources are online, in which case the website is given. To supplement these, films and novels are also suggested for some topics.

Libraries (in addition to Seeley and UL)

FAMES, Sidgwick Avenue

Centre of South Asian Studies Library, Laundress Lane

Note: For articles in less accessible journals, use the journals website of the University Library, which will give you access to many journals online.

Topics

1. State and society in 18th century India: decline or decentralisation?
2. British expansion in India in the 18th and early 19th century
3. Imperial transitions: ideology, race, gender and culture 1757-1840
4. The 'age of reform' or the 'liberal moment', 1830-1850
5. The rebellion of 1857
6. Economy and society under the Raj: famines and Victorian holocausts
7. Statecraft and Colonial 'governmentality'
8. Recasting religion: Nationalisation of Hinduism
9. 'Invented identities': caste, tribe and resistance
10. Recasting Muslim identity and Colonial Rule
11. The rise of Indian nationalism: perspectives and approaches
12. The Indian National Congress, 1885-1920
13. The economy and nationalism: "Home Industry"/"Home-Rule", 1880-1910
14. Political institutions under the Raj: the census and the growth of representative politics
15. Imagining India: Nationalist thought
16. Gandhi, Gandhism and 'mass nationalism'
17. Structures of power and politics in the Indian empire, 1920-1945
18. Muslim politics between the wars, 1918-1939
19. The urban age: industry and capitalism, 1890-1939
20. The end of empire: partition and independence
21. The transition to democracy in India: constitution-making, the command economy and the 'Congress system'
22. Language, region and the challenges of federalism, India, 1947-70
23. Challenges to democracy in India: the Emergency and the rise of Hindu nationalism
24. India's political economy and liberalisation since the early 1990s
25. Constitution-making, the army and the challenges of federalism, Pakistan, 1940-70
26. Conflict and war in the Indian subcontinent: the question of Kashmir
27. The creation of Bangladesh: war, militancy and militarism
28. Globalisation, Liberalisation and the Culture of New India
29. The history of Sri Lanka.

General reading: Modern South Asia

Gordon Johnson	<i>A Cultural Atlas of India</i> (New York, 1996)
C. A Bayly	<i>The Raj: India and the British 1600-1947</i>
Sugata Bose and A Jalal	<i>Modern South Asia. History, culture and political economy</i> (London, 1998)
C.A. Bayly	<i>Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire</i> (Cambridge, 1988)
Tirthankar Roy	<i>The Economic History of India, 1857-1947</i> , (Delhi, 2000)
T.R. Metcalf	<i>Ideologies of the Raj</i> (Cambridge, 1998)
Sumit Sarkar	<i>Modern India 1885–1947</i> (London, 1989)
Sunil Khilnani	<i>The Idea of India</i> (London, 1998)
Paul Brass	<i>The Politics of India since Independence</i> (Cambridge, 1990)
Ram Guha	<i>India after Gandhi. The History of the World's Largest Democracy</i> (2007)
S Corbridge & J Harriss	<i>Reinventing India</i> , (2000)

Raychaudhuri et al	<i>Cambridge Economic History of India</i> (2005)
Stephen Hay (ed.)	<i>Sources of Indian Tradition</i> , vol. 2 (Excellent source of primary material)
R.Guha and G.Spivak	<i>Selected Subaltern Studies</i> (1998)
Bernard S Cohn	<i>An Anthropologist Among Historians</i> (1990)
Thomas Blom Hansen	<i>The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism</i> (1999)

The New Cambridge History of India volumes provide synoptic overviews of key themes with extensive bibliographies

General reading: imperialism, nationalism and decolonisation

Eric Hobsbawm	<i>Nations and Nationalism since 1780</i> , Cambridge, 1990
Benedict Anderson	<i>Imagined Communities: Reflections on Nationalism</i> , London, 1983
J Breuilly	<i>Nationalism and the State</i> , Manchester, 1982
Edward Said	<i>Orientalism</i> , New York, 1979
C A Bayly	<i>Imperial Meridian: the British Empire and the World</i> , London, 1989
R Owen and B Sutcliffe	<i>Studies in the Theory of Imperialism</i> , London, 1972
John Darwin	<i>Britain and Decolonisation: The Retreat from Empire in the Post-War World</i> .
Frederick Cooper	<i>Colonialism in Question: Theory Knowledge History</i> , 2005
Cooper and Stoler (ed.)	<i>Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World</i> , 1997
Arjun Appadurai	<i>Modernity at Large: Cultural dimensions of Globalization</i> , 1996
Dipesh Chakrabarty	<i>Provincializing Europe</i> , 2000

Memoirs and novels:

Rudyard Kipling	<i>Kim</i> (edited by Edward Said), London, 1987
E M Forster	<i>A Passage to India</i> , London, 1978
Rabindranath Tagore	<i>The Home and the World</i> , London, 1985
Salman Rushdie	<i>Midnight's Children</i> , London, 1981.
Amitav Ghosh	<i>Shadowlines</i> , London, 1988.
W H Sleeman	<i>Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official</i> , (reprint Karachi, 1973)
J Strachey	<i>India: Its Administration and Progress</i> , London, 1903
Jawaharlal Nehru	<i>The Discovery of India</i> , Bombay, 1964
M. K Gandhi	<i>The Story of My Experiments with Truth</i> (ed. Sunil Khilnani), London 2001.
Saadat Hasan Manto,	<i>Kingdom's End and other stories</i> (London, 1987)
Pankaj Mishra	<i>The Romantics</i> , London 1999
VS Naipaul	<i>Half a Life</i> , 2002
Suketu Mehta	<i>Maximum City</i> , 2004
Amartya Sen	<i>The Argumentative Indian</i> , 2005

You are strongly advised to consult key journals for articles: *Modern Asian Studies*, *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, *Journal of Asian Studies*, *South Asia*, *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*. For contemporary discussions see especially *Economic and Political Weekly*. For newspaper coverage see *The Hindu*, or *Times of India* (India), *Dawn* (Pakistan) and *Daily Star* (Bangladesh).

Below: MAS=Modern Asian Studies; IESHR=Indian Economic and Social History Review; JAS=Journal of Asian Studies; HJ=Historical Journal; MIH=Modern Intellectual History; EPW=Economic and Political Weekly; CSSH= Comparative Studies in Society and History.

NB: in the reading list that follows, suggested readings for weekly essays are set out in bold type. Longer lists are appended as a guide to students wanting to expand their knowledge or wishing to write a Part II dissertation.

Topic 1: India Between Empires: Decline or Decentralisation?

Q. Was Mughal decline inevitable? Discuss the view that Indian society and economy was ‘divided but buoyant’ in the eighteenth century.

Robert Travers, ‘Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-century India’, *Eighteenth century studies*, 40, 3, 2007 (available on web)

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| C.A. Bayly | <i>Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire</i> ch.1-3 |
| Muzaffar Alam | <i>The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India</i> |
| Alavi, Seema (ed.) | <i>The Eighteenth Century in India</i> |
| Peter Marshall | <i>British Bridgehead</i>, ch 1-2 |
| D. A Washbrook | “Progress and Problems: South Asian Economic and Social History 1720-1860” <i>MAS</i> 1988 |
| C.A. Bayly | Rulers, townsmen and bazaars |
| Bernard S Cohn | ‘Political Systems in 18c India’ in his <i>Anthropologist among Historians</i> |
| Robert Travers | <i>Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth Century India</i> |
| M Alam and S Subrahmanyam (ed.), | <i>The Mughal State 1526-1750, Delhi</i> 1998 (see introduction) |
| J Heesterman | ‘Western expansion; Indian reaction: Mughal Empire and British Raj’, in J C Heesterman, <i>The Inner Conflict of Tradition</i>, Chicago, 1985 |
| Stewart Gordon | <i>The Marathas, Marauders and State Formation</i> |
| J S Grewal | <i>The Sikhs of Punjab</i> |
| R. O’Hanlon and D. Washbrook | Religious cultures in early modern India (forthcoming, 2011) |
| Karen Leonard | <i>Social History of an Indian Caste: the Kayasths of Hyderabad</i> |
| J. R McLane | <i>Land and Local Kingship in 18 C Bengal</i> |
| Susanne Rudolph | ‘State Formation in South Asia’ <i>JAS</i> 1987 |
| K N. Chaudhuri | <i>Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750</i> pp.80-117 |
| Sumit Guha | ‘An Indian Penal Regime’, <i>Past and Present</i> 1997 |
| M. Athar Ali | ‘The passing of an empire: The Mughal case’, <i>MAS</i> 1985 |
| Richard Barnett | <i>North India between Empire</i> , 1987 |
| Jos Gommans | <i>The Rise of the Indo-Afghan Empire</i> , 1995. |
| Robert Travers | ‘The Eighteenth Century in Indian History’, <i>Eighteenth-Century Studies</i> 40.3 (2007) 492-508, and Travers ‘Imperial Revolutions and Global Repercussions: South Asia and the World, c. 1750-1850’, in S. Subrahmanyam and D Armitage eds, <i>The Age of Revolutions in Global Context</i> (Palgrave, 2010), pp. 144-166. |
| Kumkum Chatterjee | <i>The cultures of history in early modern India</i> (OUP, 2009) |

Topic 2: East India Company: Land, Trade & the Dominion of Empire, 1757-1857

Q How important were British revenue settlements in transforming Indian rural society before the mutiny?

Q. How would you characterise the East India Company before 1790– a global trading company or a political institution?

Travers (above)

Lawrence Stone (ed.)	<i>An Imperial State at War</i>
Seema Alavi	<i>Sepoy and the Company</i>
PJ Marshall	'Reappraisals: the rise of British power in 18th-century India', <i>South Asia</i> 19, 1 (1996); <i>Problems of Empire: Britain and India</i> ; <i>Bengal: The British Bridgehead</i> (NCHI, 1987), esp. chapter 3 'British in Oudh', <i>MAS</i> (1975); (ed.) <i>OHBE</i> , II, chapters 1, 22–24 by Marshall, Ray, Bowen
Ranajit Guha	<i>A Rule of Property for Bengal</i>
Jon Wilson	'Early colonial India beyond empire' <i>Historical Journal</i> , 2007.
Michael Fisher	<i>Indirect Rule in India</i>
Claude Markovits	<i>The Global World of Indian Merchants</i> 2000
Kumkum Chatterjee	<i>Merchants, Politics and Society in Early Modern India</i>
Eric Stokes	<i>The Peasant and the Raj</i>
Anand Yang	<i>The Limited Raj</i>
C A Bayly	<i>Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars</i> , ch. 5-7
Philip J Stern	'British Asia and British Atlantic: Comparisons and Connections' <i>William and Mary Quarterly</i> , 2006
Peter Marshall	<i>The Making and Unmaking of Empires</i> 2005
K. N. Chaudhuri	<i>The East India Company</i>
Sumit Guha	<i>The Bombay Deccan</i>
David Ludden	<i>Peasant History in South India</i>
DHS Kolff	<i>Naukar, Rajput and Sepoy</i>
Sudipta Sen	<i>Empire of Free Trade</i>
Philip J Stern,	" 'A Politie of Civill & Military Power': Political Thought and the Late Seventeenth-Century Foundations of the East India Company-State," <i>Journal of British Studies</i> 47 (April 2008).

On silver flows in early colonial India: HV Bowen, 'Bullion for Trade, War and Debt-relief: British Movement of Silver to, around and from Asia 1760-1833', *Modern Asian Studies*, 44, 3, 2010

****Good biographies of key actors include:**

John Rosselli, *Lord William Bentinck*, Burton Stein, *Thomas Munro*, Ainslee Embree, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India*, and Percival Spear, *Master of Bengal. Clive and his India*

Topic 3: Imperial Transitions: Race, Gender and Culture, c. 1757-1840

Q. In what ways and to what effects did orientalism and race define the Indo-British encounter in the early nineteenth century?

Q. Why and how was the status of women significant for colonial law?

Eric Stokes	<i>English Utilitarians and India</i> , ch 1-3
C A Bayly	<i>Empire and Information</i> , ch. 1-5
Ronald Inden	<i>Imagining India</i>
Indrani Chatterjee	<i>Gender Slavery and the Law in Colonial India</i>
Radhika Singha	<i>A Despotism of Law</i>
Lata Mani	<i>Contentious Traditions</i>
Javed Majeed	<i>Ungoverned Imaginings</i>
David Washbrook	'Law, State and Society' <i>MAS</i> 1981
David Skuy	'Macaulay and the Indian Penal Code of 1862', <i>MAS</i> 1998
Ronald Inden	'Orientalist Constructions of India', <i>MAS</i> 1986
Shruti Kapila	'Race Matters: Orientalism and Religion, 1770-1880', <i>MAS</i> 2007
Juan R I Cole	<i>The Roots of Shi'ism in Iran and North India</i>
E. M. Collingham	<i>Imperial Bodies</i>
Veena Oldenburg,	"Lifestyle as Resistance: the Case of the Courtesans" in Graff, Violette,, et al. (ed.) <i>Lucknow: Memoirs of a City</i>

Jeevan Deol	'Sex, Social Critique and the Female Figure', <i>MAS</i> 2002
Durba Ghosh	<i>Sex and the Family in the Making of Empire</i>
Thomas Trautmann	<i>Aryans and British India</i>
Michael S Dodson	<i>Orientalism Empire and National Culture</i>
S. N. Mukerjee	<i>Sir William Jones</i>
K. Ballhatchet	<i>Race Sex and Class under the Raj</i>
Peter van der Veer & C Breckenridge	<i>Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament</i> (Relevant essays)
Jamal Malik (ed.)	<i>Perspectives of Mutual Encounter in South Asian History</i>
Michael Fisher	<i>The Travels of Dean Mahomet</i>

**This would be the moment to read critically William Dalrymple's *White Mughals*

Topic 4: The 'Liberal Moment': Religion, Education and Elites in the mid 19C

Q. In what ways and for what reasons did Indians challenge and transform liberal ideas between 1800-1860?

David Kopf	<i>British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance</i>
Eric Stokes	<i>English Utilitarians and India</i> , ch 1-3
Jon Wilson	'Early colonial India beyond empire' <i>Historical Journal</i> , 2007.
C A Bayly	'Rammohan Roy and the Advent of Constitutional Liberalism in India', <i>MIH</i> 2007
LynnZastoupil,	Rammohan Roy and the making of Victorian Britain (2010)
Sumanta Banerjee	<i>The Parlour and the Street</i>
Javed Majeed	<i>Ungoverned Imaginings</i>
Tapan Raychaudhuri	"Europe in India's Xenology", <i>Past and Present</i> 1992
Tapan Raychaudhuri	<i>Europe Reconsidered</i>
Peter Hardy	<i>Muslims of British India</i> , ch 1-3
Thomas Metcalf	<i>Ideologies of the Raj</i>
Lynn Zastophil et al	<i>J.S.Mill's Encounter with India</i>
Andrew Sartori	<i>Bengal in global concept history</i> (2008) ch. 3
Brian Hatcher	Bourgeois Hinduism (2008)
G.O. Trevelyan	<i>The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay</i>
David Kopf	<i>The Brahmo Samaj and the Mind of Modern India</i>
Sukanta Chaudhuri	<i>Calcutta the Living City</i> , Vol 1.
S. N.Mukherjee (ed.)	<i>Elites in South Asia</i>
Jon E Wilson	The domination of strangers
Partha Chatterjee (ed.)	<i>Texts of Power</i>
Narayani Gupta	"Urbanism in South India: 18 th and 19 th Centuries" in Indu Banga, (ed.) <i>City in Indian History</i>
Susan Bayly	<i>Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in south Indian Society 1700-1900</i> (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 151-86
Niels Brimnes	<i>Constructing the colonial encounter: right and left hand castes in early colonial South India</i>
Sandia Freitag	<i>Culture and Power in Benaras</i>
Vasudha Dalmia	<i>Representing Hinduism</i>
S Bhattacharya (ed.)	<i>Locating Indian History</i> (relevant essays)

Topic 5: 1857 and Peasant Rebellions in the Nineteenth Century

Q. 'A typical peasant rebellion writ large' or the 'first war of Indian independence'? Why have the events of 1857-8 been elusive to characterise?

R. Mukherjee	<i>Awadh in Revolt</i>
Eric Stokes	<i>The Peasant and the Raj</i>
Eric Stokes	<i>The Peasant Armed</i> (and review article by G Pandey, 'View of the observable', in <i>JPS</i> , 1980)
Ranajit Guha	<i>Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency</i>
C A Bayly	<i>Empire and Information, ch 9</i>
Ranajit Guha	'The Prose of Counter-Insurgency' <i>Subaltern Studies</i>
William Pinch	<i>Peasants and Monks in British India</i>
Kim Wagner	The great fear of 1857 (2010)
Francis Hutchins	<i>Illusions of Permanence</i>
Thomas Metcalf	<i>Aftermath of the Revolt</i>
David Omissi	<i>The Sepoy and the Raj</i>
Gautam Bhadra	"Four Rebels of 1857" in <i>Subaltern Studies IV</i>
Marx and Engels	'First Indian War of Independence'
Narayani Gupta	<i>Delhi Between Empires</i>
*W H Sleeman	<i>A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude 1849-50</i> , London, 1858
*Sir John Kaye	<i>The History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857-58</i> , Vol I, London, 1874
S N Sen	1857, Delhi, 1957
Seema Alavi	<i>The Sepoys and the Company</i> , Delhi, 1998
Sashi Bhushan Chaudhuri	<i>Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies</i> , Calcutta, 1957
David Baker	'Mutiny in Central India', <i>MAS</i> , 1991
Douglas Peers	'The Habitual Nobility of Being. British Officials and the Social Construction of the Bengal Army in the Early Nineteenth Century', <i>MAS</i> 1991
E I Brodtkin	'Struggle for succession', <i>MAS</i> , 1972
David Arnold	'Islam, the Mapillas and Peasant revolt in Malabar', <i>Journal of Peasant Studies</i> , 9, 4, 1982
Radhika Singha	'Providential Circumstances. The Thuggee Campaign of the 1830s' <i>MAS</i> , 1993.
Seema Alavi	'The Company Army and Rural Society', <i>MAS</i> , 1993.
Tapti Roy	'Visions of the Rebels. A Study of 1857 in Bundelkhand', <i>MAS</i> , 1993

**You could watch Satyajit Ray's 'The Chess Players', or Shyam Benegal's 'Junoon'.

Topic 6: Rural Commerce: Famines and 'Victorian Holocausts'

Q Did the commercialisation of agriculture lead to famines in the nineteenth century?

David Arnold	<i>Famine: Social Crises and Historical Change</i> also essays by him in <i>Subaltern Studies III and Past and Present</i> 1979
B M Bhatia	<i>Famines in India</i>
Mike Davis	<i>Late Victorian Holocausts</i> 2001
D Hall-Matthews	<i>Peasants Famine and the State</i> 2005
David Hardiman	<i>Feeding the Bania</i>
Michelle Mc Alpin	<i>Subject to Famine</i>
Jairus Banaji	"Capitalist Domination and the Small Peasantry" <i>EPW</i> 1977
Louis Dumont	"The 'village community from Munro to Maine" <i>Contributions to Indian Sociology</i> 1966
Ramchandra Guha	<i>The unquiet Woods</i>
S Ambirajan	"Political Economy and Indian Famines", <i>South Asia</i> 1971
R. C. Dutt	<i>Open Letters to Lord Curzon on Famines...</i> 1900
Michael Mann	<i>British Rule on Indian Soil</i> 1999
Paul Greenough	<i>Prosperity and Misery in Modern Bengal</i> (on 1943 famine but important)

Sanjay Sharma	<i>Famine, Philanthropy and the Colonial State</i>
A K Sen	"Famine Mortality" in E J Hobsbawm (ed.) <i>Peasants in History</i>
N Bhattacharya	"Lenders and Debtors: Punjab countryside 1880-1940" <i>Studies in History</i> n.s. 1985
Sugata Bose (ed.)	<i>Credit, Markets and the Agrarian Economy of Colonial India</i> 1994
Gyan Prakash	<i>Bonded Histories</i>
Tim Dyson (ed.)	<i>India's Historical Demography: Studies in Famine, Disease & Society</i>

**You could read Verrier Elwin *Leaves from the Jungle: Life in a Gond Village* (1936), and see Satyajit Ray's classic film *Pather Panchali*, or Mrinal Sen's *'Akaler Sandhaney - In search of famine'*. The recent Bollywood blockbuster, *Lagaan*, is an entertaining look at British land revenue demands.

Topic 7: Colonial Governmentality: Effects of the Colonial State and Science

Q. Did knowledge translate into power in colonial India?

Matthew Edney	<i>Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India</i> 1999
Bernard S Cohn	<i>Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge</i>
C A Bayly	<i>Empire and Information</i> , ch. 7-8
William Pinch	<i>Same Difference in Europe and India History and Theory</i> 1999
David Arnold	<i>Science, Technology and Medicine in Colonial India</i>
Gyan Prakash	<i>Another Reason, Science and the Imagination of Modern India</i> 1999
David Arnold	<i>Colonising the Body</i> , Berkeley, 1993
R S Chandavarkar	<i>Imperial Power and Popular Politics</i> , Cambridge, 1997, ch 8
Mark Harrison	<i>Climates and Constitutions</i>
David Scott	'Colonial Governmentality' <i>Social Text</i> 1998
Kavita Philip	<i>Civilizing Natures</i> 2004
Gauri Viswanathan	<i>Masks of Conquest. Literary Study and British Rule in India</i> , 1990
Deepak Kumar	<i>Science and the Raj</i>
Kapil Raj	<i>Locating Modern Science</i> 2005
R Suamarez Smith	'Rule-by-records and rule-by-reports: complementary aspects of the British imperial rule of law', <i>Contributions to Indian Sociology</i> (n.s.), 19, 1, 1985
Arjun Appadurai	'Number in Colonial Imagination' in Van der Veer and Breckenridge (ed.) <i>Orientalism and Postcolonial Predicament</i>
Christopher Pinney	<i>Camera Indica</i> Ch 1.

* You could read the highly entertaining thriller *Calcutta Chromosome* by Amitav Ghosh on the invention of the cure for malaria by Ronald Ross in Calcutta. Hari Kunzru's *'The Impressionist'* is amusing on colonial phrenology and princely pécadillos.

Topic 8: Recasting Religion: Making Hinduism 'National', 1850-1920

Q. How and with what consequences was Hinduism transformed by 1920?

Andrew Sartori	<i>Bengal in global concept history</i> (2008)
Peter van der Veer	<i>Gods on Earth</i>
Tanika Sarkar	<i>Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation</i>

Mark Juergensmeyer	<i>Religion as a Social Vision</i>
David Lorenzon	'Who invented Hinduism?', <i>CSSH</i> 1999
Shruti Kapila and Faisal Devji (eds.)	'The Bhagavad Gita and modern thought', <i>Modern Intellectual History</i> , 7, 2, 2010
Kenneth Jones	<i>Socio-Religious Reform Movements in India</i>
Kenneth Jones	<i>Arya Dharma</i>
Leela Gandhi	<i>Affective communities</i> (2006)
Rosalind O'Hanlon	<i>Caste Conflict and Ideology</i>
Radha Kumar	<i>A History of Doing</i> (on gender)
Sandria Freitag	<i>Collective Action and Community</i>
Sudipta Kaviraj	"Two Histories of Bengali" in Sheldon Pollock (ed.) <i>Literary Cultures of South Asia</i> 2004
K Prior	'Making History: The State's Intervention in Religious Disputes', <i>MAS</i> , 1993
Kama MacLean	'Making the Colonial State work for you: Modern beginnings of Kumbh Mela' <i>Journal of Asian Studies</i> , 2003
H. Kulke (ed.)	<i>Hinduism Reconsidered</i>
Partha Mitter	<i>Much Maligned Monsters</i>
William Radice	<i>Swami Vivekananda and the Modernisation of Hinduism</i> , 1998
Joseph Alter	"Somatic Nationalism: Indian Wrestling and Militant Hinduism", <i>MAS</i> 1994
Charles Heimsath	<i>Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform</i> , Princeton, 1964
Vasudha Dalmia	<i>Nationalization of Hindu Tradition</i>
Charu Gupta	<i>Sexuality, Obscenity, Community</i>
C R King	'Forging a new linguistic identity', in S Freitag (ed.) <i>Culture and power in Benares</i> .
Romila Thapar	'Imagined Religious Communities? Ancient History and the Modern Search for a Hindu Identity' <i>MAS</i> , 1989.
Cristophe Jaffrelot	<i>The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics</i> , London, 1996.
William Pinch	<i>Peasants and monks in British India</i> , 1996
G D Sontheimer and H Kulke	<i>Hinduism Reconsidered</i> , Delhi, 1989.
Peter Van der Veer	<i>Religious Nationalism. Hindus and Muslims in India</i> , Berkeley, 1994
Gyanendra Pandey	<i>The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India</i> , Delhi, 1990
Anand Yang	'Sacred Symbol and Sacred Space', <i>CSSH</i> , 22, 4, 1980
N Gooptu	'The Urban Poor and Militant Hinduism in Early Twentieth Century UP', <i>MAS</i> , 31, October 1997

Topic 9: Invented Identities? Caste, Tribe and Resistance

Q. Was caste 'invented' in the nineteenth century?

Q. How did caste and social hierarchy change over the course of the nineteenth century?

Susan Bayly	<i>Caste Politics and Indian Society</i>
Sudipta Kaviraj	'Imaginary Institution of Indian Society' <i>Subaltern Studies VII</i>
Nicholas Dirks	<i>Castes of Mind</i>
Special Issue on Caste	<i>Indian Economic and Social History Review</i> , 2004
R O'Hanlon	<i>Caste Conflict and Ideology</i> , Cambridge, 1985
Vijay Prashad	<i>Untouchable Freedom: A Social History of a Dalit Community</i>
Peter Robb (ed.)	<i>The Concept of Race in South Asia</i>
Arjun Appadurai	<i>Worship and Conflict under Colonial Rule</i> , Cambridge, 1982
Bernard Cohn	<i>An Anthropologist among Historians and other essays</i>
*H H Risley	<i>The Tribes and Castes of Bengal</i> , Calcutta, 1891.
*Abbe Dubois	<i>A Description of the Character, Manners and Customs of the People of India</i> , London, 1817

Sanjay Nigam	'Disciplining and policing criminals by birth', 2 parts, <i>Indian Economic and Social History Review</i> , 1989.
Meena Radhakrishnan	"Criminal Tribes Act in Madras", <i>IESHR</i> 1990
Ajay Skaria	<i>Hybrid Histories</i>
Rajni Kothari (ed.)	<i>Caste in Indian Politics</i> see essay by Elanor Zelliott on Mahars
N Dirks, 'The invention of caste'	<i>Social Analysis</i> 1989
Rashmi Pant	'The cognitive status of caste in colonial ethnography' <i>IESHR</i> , 1987
David Washbrook	'Law, State and Society', <i>MAS</i> , 1981
Radhika Singha	<i>A despotism of law. Crime and justice in early colonial India</i> , New (From Faujdari to Faujdari Adalat)
F Conlon	<i>A Caste in a Changing World</i> , Berkeley, 1977
Dharma Kumar	<i>Land and Caste in South India</i> , Cambridge, 1965
N Dirks	'Castes of Mind', <i>Representations</i> , 1992.

Topic 10: Recasting religion Muslim identity, 1850-1920

Q. Why and in what ways did Muslim politics emerge as distinctive after the mutiny of 1857?

FCR Robinson	<i>Separatism among Indian Muslims</i> , Cambridge, 1974
C A Bayly	'The Prehistory of Communalism', <i>MAS</i> , 1985
Barbara Daly Metcalf	<i>Islamic Revival in British India</i> , Berkeley, 1982
Faisal Devji	'Apologetic Modernity', <i>Modern Intellectual History</i> , 2, 2007
Christopher King	<i>One Language Two Scripts</i>
Michael Anderson	'Islamic Law and the Colonial Encounter' David Arnold and Peter Robb (ed.) <i>Ideologies and Institutions</i>
Ayesha Jalal	"Exploding Communalism: Politics of Muslim Identity" in Bose and Jalal (ed.) <i>Nationalism, Democracy and Development</i>
David Lelyveld,	<i>Self and Sovereignty in Indian Islam.</i>
*W W Hunter	<i>Aligarh's First Generation</i> , Princeton, 1977
	<i>The Indian Musalmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen</i> , London, 1871
*Sayyid Ahmad Khan	<i>Strictures on the Present State of English Education in India</i> , London, 1869
Rafiuddin Ahmed	<i>The Bengal Muslims 1871-1906: A Quest for Identity</i> , Delhi, 1981
C Troll	<i>Sayyid Ahmed Khan: A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology</i> , New Delhi, 1978
Peter Hardy	<i>The Muslims of British India</i> , Cambridge, 1972
Rosalind O'Hanlon	'Historical Approaches to Communalism', in Peter Robb (ed.), <i>Society and Ideology. Essays in South Asian History</i> , 1993
Abdul Malik Mujahid	<i>Conversion to Islam: Untouchable's strategy for protest in India</i>
T. N. Madan (ed.)	<i>Muslim Communities in South Asia</i>
Avrill Powell	<i>Muslims and Missionaries in pre Mutiny India</i>
Usha Sanyal	<i>Devotional Islam and Politics of British India</i> 1996
G. Kozlowski	<i>Muslim Endowments and Society in British India</i> 1993
Kenneth McPherson	<i>The Muslim Microcosm, Calcutta 1918-1935</i>
Farina Mir	'Genre and Devotion in Punjabi Popular Narrative: Rethinking Cultural and Religious Syncretism', <i>CSSH</i> , 2006

TOPICS 11- 17 INDIAN NATIONALISM:

****This part of the reading list is inter-related and you are advised to read across the different themes for addressing essay topics.**

POLITICAL MEMOIRS BIOGRAPHIES AND TEXTS:

B.B. Majumdar	<i>History of Political Thought from Rammohan to Dayananda</i> 1934
Annemarie Schimmel	<i>Gabriel's Wing: A study into the religious ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal</i>
Sri Aurobindo	<i>Doctrine of Passive Resistance</i> 1948
BR Nanda	<i>Gokhale</i> 1977
S Gopal	<i>Jawaharlal Nehru Vols 1-3</i>
Leonard Gordon	<i>Brothers Against the Raj A Biography of Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose</i> 1990
Rani Shankardass	<i>Vallabhbhai Patel</i> 1988
Richard Cashman	<i>The Myth of the Lokmanya</i> , Berkeley, 1975
E Thompson & G T Garratt	<i>Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India</i> , (1934), Allahabad, 1962.
Bankimchandra Chatterjee	<i>Anandamath</i>
Rabindranath Tagore	<i>Gora</i> , London, 1912
Surendra Nath Banerjee	<i>A Nation in the Making. Being the Reminiscences of Fifty Years of Public Life</i> , Calcutta, 1963
Dadabhai Naoroji	<i>Poverty and Un-British Rule in India</i> , Delhi, 1962
B R Ambedkar	<i>Gandhi and Gandhism</i> , Jullunder, 1970
E M S Namboodiripad	<i>The Mahatma and the 'Ism'</i> , New Delhi, 1958.
M K Gandhi	<i>The Story of My Experiments with Truth</i> , Ahmedabad, 1927
M K Gandhi	<i>Hind Swaraj and Other Writings</i> (ed. A J Parel), 1997
Bepin Chandra Pal	<i>Memories of my Life and Times</i> , (1932), Calcutta, 1973.
Rabindranath Tagore	<i>Nationalism</i> , London, 1917
Jawaharlal Nehru	<i>An Autobiography</i> , Bombay, 1962
Rajani Palme Dutt	<i>India To-day</i> , London, 1940
Abdul Kalam Azad	<i>An intellectual and Religious biography</i> ed. Gail Minault and Christian Troll

** You could watch 'Rebels of the Raj' a documentary on Subhas Bose, and of course, David Attenborough's *Gandhi*.

Topic 11: Indian Nationalism: Historiography and debates

Q. What has been the contribution of Subaltern Studies and the Cambridge School to our understanding of Indian nationalism?

Q. Why has the study of Indian nationalism proven to be divisive?

Anil Seal	<i>The Emergence of Indian Nationalism</i> , Cambridge, 1968.
Sumit Sarkar	<i>'Popular Movements and 'Middle Class' Leadership in Late Colonial India: Perspectives and Problems of a 'History from Below'</i> , Calcutta, 1985.
M Torri	<i>"Westernised Middle-Class" Intellectuals and Society in Late Colonial India</i> , EPW, 25, 4, 1990
Anil Seal	<i>'Imperialism and Nationalism'</i> in J A Gallagher et al (eds), <i>Locality, Province, Nation.</i> , MAS, 1973.
David Hardiman	<i>'The Indian Faction: A Political Theory Explained'</i> , in R Guha (ed), <i>Subaltern Studies</i> Vol 1.
Ranajit Guha	<i>'On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India'</i> in Ranajit Guha (ed), <i>Subaltern Studies</i> Vol 1.
G Pandey	<i>'View of the observable'</i> , in JPS, 1980
Rosalind O'Hanlon	<i>'Recovering the Subject. Subaltern Studies and the Histories of Resistance in Colonial South Asia'</i> , MAS, 1988 (review article)

O'Hanlon & Washbrook	'After Orientalism: Culture, Criticism and Politics in the Third World', <i>CSSH</i> , 34, 1, 1992
Gyan Prakash	'Can the 'Subaltern' Ride?' <i>CSSH</i> , 34,1,1992
Gayatri Spivak	'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in her <i>Selected Subaltern Studies: A Reader</i>
Dipesh Chakrabarty	<i>Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies</i> 2004
Sumit Sarkar	<i>Beyond Nationalist Frames</i> 2004/ <i>Writing Social History</i>
Partha Chatterjee	"Beyond the Nation or Within", <i>Social Text</i> 1998
P Chatterjee	<i>A Princely Imposter. The Secret History of Nationalism</i> , Princeton, 2002 (see last chapter)
Partha Chatterjee	<i>A Nation and its Fragments. Colonial and Postcolonial Histories</i> , Princeton, 1993
C A Bayly	<i>Origins of Nationality in South Asia</i>
Ranajit Guha	<i>Dominance without Hegemony. History and Power in Colonial India</i> , Cambridge Mass., 1997
Ranajit Guha	"Nationalism and the trials of becoming", <i>Oracle</i> , 24:2, 2002

Topic 12: The Indian National Congress, 1885-1920

Q. Can the conflict between the 'moderates' and the 'extremists' in the Indian National Congress be adequately explained in terms of factional differences?

Q What and who did the early Congress represent?

The early associations and the formation of Congress:

A Seal *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, Cambridge, 1968

J R McLane *Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress*, Princeton, 1977

D A Washbrook *The Emergence of Provincial Politics: the Madras Presidency 1870-1892*, Cambridge, 1976

S Wolpert *Tilak and Gokhale*, Berkeley, 1962

S Sarkar *Modern India*, Madras, 1985

B Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India*, Delhi, 1966

D. Chakrabarty *Habitations of modernity* (2002), ch 1.

C A Bayly *The Local Roots of Indian Politics*, Oxford, 1975

G Johnson *Provincial Politics and Indian Nationalism, Bombay and the Indian National Congress 1880-1915*, Cambridge, 1973

R Ray *Social Conflict and Political Unrest in Bengal, 1875-1927*, Delhi, 1984

Extremism and terrorism; the Congress split:

Sartori (above) Bengal in concept History esp, chs 5-8.

Richard Cashman *The Myth of the Lokmanya: Tilak and Mass Politics in Maharashtra*, Berkeley, 1975

Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal*, Delhi, 1973

John R McLane *Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress*, Princeton, 1977

S Wolpert *Tilak and Gokhale*, Berkeley, 1962

Sartori and Kapila in *Modern Intellectual History*, 7, 2, 2010.

Peter Heehs *The Bomb in Bengal. The Rise of Revolutionary Terrorism in India*, Delhi 2004.

Sumit Sarkar *Modern India*, Madras, 1985

Barbara Southard 'The Political Strategy of Aurobindo Ghosh', *MAS*, 1980.

Bipan Chandra 'Revolutionary Terrorists in Northern India in the 1920s', in B R Nanda (ed.), *Socialism in India*, Delhi, 1972

Raj Chandavarkar	'From Communism to Social Democracy: the Rise and Resilience of Communist Parties in India, 1920-1995' <i>Science and Society</i> , 1997.
Peter Heehs	<i>Nationalism, terrorism, communalism. Essays in modern Indian History</i> , Delhi, 1998.
Prachi Deshpande	Creative pasts; historical memory in western India (2206).

Topic 13: The Economy and Nationalism: “Home Industry”/”Home-Rule”, 1880-1910

Q. What were the economic and cultural conditions for the rise of anti-colonial movements of 1905-08?
Q. ‘Deindustrialisation’ or a chapter in economic globalisation? Assess the nature of industrial capitalism before 1914.

Ritu Birla, Neil Charlesworth C Simmons	Stages of capital (2010) <i>British Rule and Indian Economy 1800-1914</i> “‘Deindustrialisation, industrialisation and the Indian economy 1850-1947’”, MAS 1985
J. Krishnamurti Mariaka Vicziany Barun De / (ed.) Gyan Pandey Burton Stein & S. Subrahmanyam (ed.) Amiya K Bagchi	“Deindustrialisation...another look”, IESHR 1986 “Deindustrialisation of India” <i>IESHR</i> 1979 Essays in Honour of S C Sarkar see esp. Bagchi “Economic dislocation in 19c UP” in Robb (ed.) <i>Rural South Asia</i> <i>Institutions and Economic Change in South Asia</i> ‘Deindustrialisation in India in the 19C’ <i>Journal of Development Studies</i> 1976
Bipan Chandra B N Ganguly *Dadabhai Naoroji Sumit Guha	<i>The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India</i> <i>Indian Economic Thought: Nineteenth Century Perspectives</i> <i>Poverty and Unbritish Rule in India 1901</i> <i>Growth, Stagnation or Decline? Agrarian Productivity in British India</i> , Delhi, 1992.
RS Chandavarkar Tirthankar Roy David Washbrook,	‘Industrialisation in India before 1857: Conventional Approaches and Alternative perspectives’, MAS, 1985 <i>The economic history of India 1857-1947</i> , Oxford 2006. ‘Progress and Problems’ MAS, 1988 ‘Economic Depression and the Making of Traditional India’, <i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i> , Vol 3, 1993. (D1)
Manu Goswami Andrew Sartori Sumit Sarkar,	<i>Producing India</i> , 2005 ‘The Categorical Logic of a Colonial Nationalism’ <i>Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East</i> 2003 <i>The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal</i> , Delhi, 1973
Lisa Trivedi C A Bayly Sudhir Chandra C A Bayly Kumar and Raychaudhuri D A Washbrook	“The Visual Culture of Swadeshi Nationalism”, <i>JAS</i> 2005 “The Origins of Swadeshi” in Arjun Appadurai (ed.) <i>The Social Life of Things</i> ‘The cultural component of economic nationalism’, <i>Indian Historical Review</i> , 12, 1-2, 1985-86. <i>Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars</i> , Cambridge, 1983, chapters 5-7 (eds.), <i>The Cambridge Economic History of India</i> , Vols 1&2 (Cambridge, 1982 – 1983) ‘Economic Depression and the Making of Traditional Society in Colonial India’, <i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i> , 3, 1993.(D1)
*Romesh Chandra Dutt 1969	<i>The Economic History of India, Vol 2: In the Victorian Age</i> , New York, (1904)

******You ought to watch Satyajit Ray's 'Home and the World', or read Tagore's novel of the same name on which it is based.

Topic 14: Political institutions under the Raj: the census and the growth of 'representative politics'

Q: Why and with what effects was 'native representation' introduced in British India between 1858 and 1909?

- Anil Seal *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the later Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1968, (especially Chapter 4)
- D A Washbrook 'Law, State and Society' MAS, 1981
- Arjun Appadurai 'Number in the colonial imagination', C Breckenridge & Van der Veer (eds.), *Orientalism and the Post-colonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia*, Philadelphia 1993
- C A Bayly *Empire and Information*, Cambridge, 1999
- Pradeep Datta *Carving Blocs*. Delhi, 1999 (sp Chapter 1)
- N G Barrier (ed) *The census in British India: new perspectives* (1981)
- Thomas Metcalf *The Aftermath of Revolt: India 1857-70*, Princeton, 1964.
- C Dewey & A Hopkins *The Imperial Impact*, London, 1977
- *E Thompson & G T Garratt, *Rise and Fulfillment of British Rule in India*, (1934), Allahabad, 1962.
- *J Strachey *India: Its Administration and Progress*, London, 1903
- S Bhattacharyya *Financial Foundations of the British Raj*, Simla, 1971
- R Fox *Kin, Clan, Raja and Rule*, Berkeley, 1971
- David Omissi *The Sepoy and the Raj*, London, 1994
- Ronald Inden *Imagining India*, 1990 (also see review by Declan Quigley in MAS, 1991)
- Ronald Inden, 'Orientalist Constructions of India', MAS 1986
- Sanjay Nigam, 'Disciplining and policing criminals by birth', 2 parts, *IESHR*, 1989.
- Thomas Metcalf *Ideologies of the Raj*, Cambridge, 1998
- David Arnold *Colonising the Body*, Berkeley, 1993
- R Suamarez Smith 'Rule-by-records and rule-by-reports: complementary aspects of the British imperial rule of law', *Contributions to Indian Sociology* (n.s.), 19, 1, 1985.
- R Chandavarkar 'Customs of Governance: Colonialism and Democracy in Twentieth Century India', MAS, 41, 3, 1997.
- S Gopal *British Policy in India 1860-1914*, Cambridge, 1965
- .

Topic 15: Imagining the nation: Indian nationalist thought

Q. Was Indian nationalist thought 'a derivative discourse'?

- P Chatterjee *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*, Delhi, 1986
- P Chatterjee *The Nation and its Fragments*, Princeton, 1993
- Tapan Raychaudhuri, *Europe Reconsidered: Perceptions of the West in Nineteenth-Century Bengal*, Delhi, 1988.
- C A Bayly *The Origins of Nationality in South Asia*, Cambridge, 1998
- Romila Thapar 'Imagined Religious Communities? Ancient History and the Modern Search for a Hindu Identity' MAS, 1989.
- Sunil Khilnani *The Idea of India*, London, 1998
- J Majeed *Autobiography, travel and post-national identity: Gandhi, Nehru and Iqbal*, London, 2007.
- See S Kapila (ed.) Special Issue, "An Intellectual History for India" *Modern Intellectual History* April 2007; *Modern Intellectual History*, 7, 2, 2010.
- Shruti Kapila "Self Spencer and Swaraj", *MIH* 2007

Ashis Nandy	<i>The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism</i> , Delhi, 1983
Sumit Sarkar	“Kaliyuga”, “Chakri” and “Bhakti”: Ramakrishna and his Times’, <i>EPW</i> , 26, 29, 1992.
Cristophe Jaffrelot	<i>The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics</i> , London, 1996.
Partha Chatterjee	‘The fruits of Macaulay’s Poison Tree’, in Ashok Mitra (ed.), <i>Essays in Tribute to Samar Sen</i> , Calcutta, 1985
Sudipta Kaviraj	<i>The Unhappy Consciousness, Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and the Formation of Nationalist Discourse in India</i> , Delhi, 1995.
Peter Van der Veer	<i>Religious Nationalism. Hindus and Muslims in India</i> , Berkeley, 1994
Gyanendra Pandey	<i>The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India</i> , Delhi, 1990
J Chatterji	<i>Bengal Divided</i> , Cambridge, 1994, chapter 4

Topic 16: Gandhi, Gandhism and 'mass nationalism'

Q. ‘Popular protest against British rule occurred despite Gandhi, not because of him.’ Discuss.

Q. Were Gandhian ideas and politics illiberal?

Gandhi and Gandhism:

Partha Chatterjee	<i>Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse</i> , London, 1986
Ravinder Kumar	<i>Essays in the Social History of Modern India</i> , Calcutta, 1986
Ajay Skaria	“Gandhi’s Politics: Liberalism and the Question of the Ashram”, <i>South Atlantic Quarterly</i> Fall 2002
Joseph Alter	<i>Gandhi’s Body</i> 2000
David Hardiman	<i>Gandhi: In his times and Ours</i> 2005
Special Issue on ‘Hind Swaraj’,	Public Culture, Nov. 2010.
Anupama Rao	The caste question , ch 1-3
Ashis Nandy	“Final Encounter: Politics of the Assassination of Gandhi” in his <i>Edge of Psychology</i>
N K Bose	<i>Studies in Gandhism</i> , Calcutta, 1962 Alternatively, see his <i>Gandhi in Indian Politics</i> , Calcutta 1967
Bhikhu Parekh	<i>Colonialism, Tradition and Reform. An Analysis of Gandhi’s Political Discourse</i> , Delhi, 1989
R Fox	<i>Gandhian Utopia. Experiments with Culture</i> , Boston, 1989
Judith M Brown	<i>Gandhi’s Rise to Power: Indian Politics, 1915-1922</i> , Cambridge, 1972

Gandhi and ‘mass nationalism’:

Judith M Brown	<i>Gandhi and Civil Disobedience</i> , Cambridge, 1976
Shahid Amin	<i>Event, Metaphor, Memory: Chauri Chaura 1922-1992</i> , Delhi, 1995
Shahid Amin	‘Gandhi as Mahatma’, R Guha (ed), <i>Subaltern Studies Vol III</i> .
R Chandavarkar,	<i>Imperial Power and Popular Politics</i> , Cambridge, 1998 (chapter 8)
G Pandey (ed.)	<i>The Indian Nation in 1942</i> , Calcutta, 1988.
David Washbrook’s review of Judith Brown’s	<i>Gandhi’s Rise to Power in MAS</i> , 1973
R Guha	‘Discipline and Mobilise’ in P Chatterjee and G Pandey (eds.), <i>Subaltern Studies Vol VII</i>
Sumit Sarkar	‘The Logic of Gandhian Nationalism’, <i>Indian Historical Review</i> , 1976
D Hardiman,	<i>Peasant Nationalists of Gujarat</i> , Delhi, 1981
Majid H Siddiqi	<i>Agrarian Unrest in North India: The United Provinces 1918-1922</i> , Delhi, 1978
Tanika Sarkar	<i>Bengal 1928-1934. The Politics of Protest</i> , Delhi, 1987.
R Kumar (ed)	<i>Essays on Gandhian Politics: The Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919</i> , Oxford.

** Attenborough's *Gandhi* is a must-see.

Topic 17: Structures of power in the Indian empire, 1920-1945

Q. 'A struggle between impotent rivals, locked in motionless and simulated combat.' Do you agree with this assessment of the conflict between the Congress and the Raj between 1920 and 1945?

- J A Gallagher & A Seal** 'Britain and India between the Wars' *MAS*, 1981
B R Tomlinson 'India and the British Empire 1880-1935', *IESHR* 1975
B R Tomlinson 'India and the British Empire, 1935-47', *IESHR* 1976
A Seal 'Imperialism and Nationalism in India', in J Gallagher, A Seal and G Johnson (eds), *Locality, Province and Nation*, *MAS*, 1973
J A Gallagher 'The Congress in Decline: Bengal 1930-1939' in Gallagher et al, *Locality, Province and Nation*, *MAS*, 1973
B R Tomlinson, *The Indian National Congress and the Raj, 1929-1942*, London, 1977
B R Tomlinson *The Political Economy of the Raj: The Economics of Decolonisation in India*, London, 1979
C J Baker, *The Politics of South India 1920-1937*, Cambridge, 1976
J Chatterji, *Bengal Divided*, Cambridge, 1994 (chapters 2 and 3)
A Seal and A Jalal 'Alternative to Partition: Muslim Politics between the Wars', *MAS*, 1981
- *Jawaharlal Nehru *An Autobiography*, Bombay, 1962
 *Lionel Carter (ed.) *Punjab Politics, 1936-39: the start of Provincial Autonomy*, New Dehli, 2004
 *Lionel Carter (ed.) *Punjab Politics 1940-1943, the strains of war*, New Delhi, 2005
- D A Low, (ed.)** *Congress and the Raj: Facets of the Indian Struggle 1917-1947*, London, 1977
R Sisson & S Wolpert (eds.), *The Congress and Indian Nationalism. The Pre-Independence Phase*, Delhi, 1988
- B Chatterji** 'Business and Politics in the 1930s: Lancashire and India', *MAS*, 1981
C Markovits 'Congress Party and Indian Big Business: some salient features of their relationship, 1920-1947', in M Shepperdson and C Simmons (eds), *Indian National Congress and the Political Economy of India. 1885-1985*, Aldershot, 1986
C Bridge *Holding India to Empire: the British Conservative Party and the 1935 Constitution*, Delhi, 1986
- R O'Hanlon** 'Acts of Appropriation: Non-Brahmin Radicals and the Congress in Early Twentieth-Century Maharashtra', in M Shepperdson and C Simmons (eds), *The Indian National Congress and the Political Economy of India*, Aldershot, 1988.

Topic 18: Muslim politics between the wars

Q: In what ways did the Khilafat/Non-cooperation movement change Hindu-Muslim politics between 1919-1942?

- FCR Robinson** *Separatism among Indian Muslims*, Cambridge, 1974
C A Bayly 'The Prehistory of Communalism', *MAS*, 1985
Barbara Daly Metcalf *Islamic Revival in British India*, Berkeley, 1982
Gyan Pandey *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*
Pradeep Datta *Carving Blocs. Delhi*, 1999

Gail Minault	<i>The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India</i> , New York.
David Page	<i>Prelude to Partition. The Indian Muslims and the Imperial System of Control 1920-1932</i> , Oxford, 1982
A Seal and A Jalal	'Alternative to Partition: Muslim Politics between the Wars', <i>MAS</i> , 1981
Ayesha Jalal	"Exploding Communalism: Politics of Muslim Identity" in Bose and Jalal (ed.) <i>Nationalism, Democracy and Development</i>
Sandria Freitag	'The roots of Muslim separatism', in E Burke and I Lapidus (eds.), <i>Islam, Politics and Social Movements</i> , 1998
David Gilmartin.	<i>Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan.</i>
Mushirul Hasan	<i>Nationalism and Communal Politics in India 1916-1928</i> , Delhi, 1979
Ayesha Jalal,	<i>Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South.Asian Islam</i> , Delhi, 2000.
Javed Majeed	"Geographies of Subjectivity...Pan Islam and Muslim Separatism", <i>MIH</i> 2007
Ayesha Jalal	"Striking a Just Balance : Azad as a theorist of trans-national Jihad", <i>MIH</i> 2007
S S Hameed	<i>Islamic Seal on India's Independence</i> 1998

Topic 19: The Urban Age: Industry and Capitalism, 1890-1947:

Q. What was the nature of industrial capitalism in late colonial India – 'underdeveloped' by workers 'culture' and/or imperial dependence?

Ritu Birla,	Stages of capital (2010)
R Chandavarkar	<i>The Origins of Industrial Capitalism in India</i> Book plus <i>History Workshop Journal</i> article 1999
Dipesh Chakrabarty	<i>Rethinking Working Class History</i>
Amiya Kumar Bagchi	<i>Private Investment in India, 1900-1939</i>
Sugata Bose(ed.)	<i>South Asia and World Capitalism</i>
David Arnold	'Industrial Violence in Colonial India', <i>CSSH</i> , 1980
Dipesh Chakrabarty	'Early Railwaymen in India: 'Dacoity' and Train Wrecking' in <i>Essays in Honour of S C Sarkar</i>
K N Chaudhuri	'Foreign Trade and Balance of Payments 1757-1947' Dharma Kumar (ed.) <i>Cambridge Economic History of India</i>
Thomas Blom Hansen	<i>Wages of Violence</i> 2001, ch, 1-2
David Washbrook,	"South Asia, the World System and World Capitalism", <i>Journal of Asian Studies</i> (1990)
Rajat Ray	Industrialisation in India 1914-47
B R Tomlinson	<i>The Political Economy of the Raj: The Economics of Decolonisation in India</i> , London, 1979
D R Gadgil	<i>The Industrial Evolution and India in Recent Times</i> , 1942
Nigel Harris	Economic Development of Cities: The Case of Bombay, 1978
Jim Masselos	"Power in a Bombay Mohalla' <i>South Asia</i> 1973
	'Change and Custom in the Format of Bombay Moharram Festivals', <i>South Asia</i> 1982
Ian Derbyshire	"Economic change and the railways in north India <i>MAS</i> 1987
D. Tripathi	<i>Business Communities of India</i>
Ian J Kerr	<i>Building the Railways of the Raj</i>
S Bhattacharyya	<i>Financial Foundations of the British Raj</i> , Simla, 1971
C Dewey & A Hopkins	(ed.) <i>The Imperial Impact</i> , London, 1977
Nandini Gooptu	<i>The Politics of the Urban Poor in early 20th century North India</i> , 2005.

Topic 20: The end of empire:

a) Partition and independence

Q. Who demanded the partition of India in 1947, and why?

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| A Jalal | <i>The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan</i> , Cambridge, 1985 |
| B R Tomlinson | 'India and the British Empire, 1935-47', <i>IESHR</i> 1976 |
| J Chatterji | <i>Bengal Divided. Hindu Communalism and Partition, 1932-1947</i> , Cambridge, 1994 |
| R J Moore | <i>Escape from Empire. The Attlee Government and the Indian Problem</i> , Oxford, 1982 |
| David Gilmartin | 'Partition, Pakistan and South Asian History: In search of narrative', <i>JAS</i> , 57:4 (Nov, 1998) |
| Ian Copland | 'The Princely States, the Muslim League and the Partition of India', <i>International History Review</i> , 12, 1, 1991 |
| Mushirul Hasan (ed.) | <i>India's Partition: Process, Strategy and Mobilisation</i> , Delhi, 1993 (especially chapter by A Roy) |
| D Gilmartin | <i>Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan</i> , Berkeley, 1988 |
| L Brennan | 'UP Muslims', <i>MAS</i> 1984 |
| Sumit Sarkar | 'Popular Movements and National Leadership, 1945-47' <i>EPW</i> , April, 1982. |
| * Khaliqzaman | <i>Pathway to Pakistan</i> , Lahore, 1961 |
| *Pyarelal | <i>Mahatma Gandhi: the last phase</i> , 2 vols, Ahmedabad, 1956, 1958 |
| *P Moon, | <i>Divide and Quit: An Eye-Witness Account of the Partition of India</i> , Delhi, 1998 |
| *V P Menon | <i>The Transfer of Power in India</i> , Princeton, 1957 |
| *A K Azad | <i>India Wins Freedom: The Complete Version</i> , Madras, 1988 (DS480.45A99) |
| *P Moon (ed) | Wavell. <i>The Viceroy's Journal</i> , London, 1973. (DS 481.W W35 {NORM}) |
| Ian Copland | 'Lord Mountbatten and the integration of the Indian States', <i>JICH</i> , 21, 2, 1993 |
| D Arnold and D Hardiman | (eds), <i>Subaltern Studies</i> Vol 8, chapter by Pandey |
| Anita Inder Singh | <i>The Partition of India 1937-47</i> , Delhi, 1987 |
| S Sarkar | <i>Writing Social History</i> , Delhi, 1997. Chapter 9 |
| <i>History Toda</i> | (September, 1997), essays on India |
| David Potter | 'Manpower shortages and the end of colonialism; <i>MAS</i> 7, 1, 1993 |
| W. Morris Jones, | 'The Transfer of power, 1947' <i>MAS</i> . 16, 2, 1998 |
| I Kamtekar | 'A Different War Dance: State and Class in India, 1939-1945' <i>Past and Present</i> , August, 2002 |
| Taj Hashmi | <i>Pakistan as a peasant utopia</i> , 1992. |
| Narendra Singh Sarila | <i>The Shadow of the Great Game. The untold story of India's partition</i> , Harper Collins, Delhi, 2005. |
| A K Gupta (ed.) | <i>Myth and Reality: the Struggle for Freedom in India, 1945-47</i> especially chapters 1, 2 and 4 |
| S Sarkar | <i>Writing Social History</i> , Delhi, 1997, Chapter 9 |
| I A Talbot | 'Deserted Collaborators', <i>JICH</i> , 1982 |
| IA Talbot | 1946 Punjab Elections', <i>MAS</i> 1980 |
| Medha Malik Kudaisya | 'G D Birla, Big Business and India's Partition', in <i>South Asia</i> , Vol. XVIII, 1995. |

b) The aftermath of partition: riots, refugees, minorities and borders.

Q. Why were the consequences of partition in the east so different from those of partition in the west?

W van Schendel *The Bengal Borderland* (2005)

- W van Scheidel and I Abraham, *Illicit flows and criminal things*, Indiana, 2005.
- Veena Das (ed.), *Mirrors of Violence: Communities, Riots, Survivors in South Asia*, Delhi, 1990
- J Chatterji, *The Spoils of Partition Bengal and India 1947-67*, Cambridge 2007
- Urvashi Butalia *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition*, London, 2000
- Gyanesh Kudaisya 'The demographic upheaval of Partition', *South Asia*, Special Issue, 1995.
- Sarah Ansari 'Partition, migration, refugees', *South Asia*, Special Issue, 1995.
- Joya Chatterj , 'Rights or Charity?' in Suvir Kaul (ed.) *Partition of Memory*, Delhi, 2000.
- Mushirul Hasan *Legacy of a Divided Nation*, Delhi, 1997. (DS432.M84 H34 [NORM])
- Gyanendra Pandey, *Remembering Partition*, Cambridge 2001
- J Chatterji 'The Fashioning of a Frontier: the Radcliffe Line and Bengal's border landscape', *MAS* 1999
- R Jeffrey 'The Punjab Boundary Force and the Problem of Order, 1947', *MAS*, 8, 4, 1974.
- Ranabir Samaddar (ed.), *Reflections on Partition in the East*, Calcutta, 1997.
- Suranjan Das *Communal Riots in Bengal, 1905-1947*, New Delhi, 1991
- Veena Das *Critical Events. An Anthropological Perspective on Contemporary India*, Delhi, 1995.
- Swarna Aiyer 'August Anarchy', *South Asia*, Special Issue, 1995.
- Prafulla Chakrabarti, *The Marginal Men*, Calcutta, 1990.
- Ranabir Samaddar *The Marginal Nation*.
- A B Hansan *Partition and Genocide*, India Research Press 2002
- Ashgar Ali Engineer (ed.), *Communal Riots in Post-Independence India*, Hyderabad, 1991
- G Kudaisya & Tan Tai Young: *The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia*, London 2000
- A Zolberg (et al) (ed.), *Escape from Violence. Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World*, New York, 1989.

***'Tamas', the serial by Bhishma Sahani, and 'Garam Hawa', are excellent on partition. The collection of short stories edited by Alok Bhalla is also worth reading if you are interested in this theme. Amitav Ghosh's *Shadowlines* and Ritwik Ghatak's 'Mehe-Dhaka Tara- A cloud-capped star' reflect on the experiences of people displaced by the events, and fall out, of India's partition.

Topic 21: The transition to democracy in India:

a) Constitution-making, 1947-50

Q. To what extent, and why, was India's constitution of 1950 modelled on the Government of India Act of 1935?

- Granville Austin *The Indian constitution. Cornerstone of a nation*, Oxford, 1966
- J. Chatterji *The Spoils of partition*, Chapter 2.
- Atul Kohli (ed.) *India's Democracy* , chapter by Manor
- Sunil Khilani *The Idea of India*, London 1997 (chapter 1)
- Anupama Rao, *The caste question* (2010)
- Granville Austin *Working a democratic constitution*, Delhi, 1999
- C Bridge *Holding India to Empire. The British Conservative party and the 1935 Constitution*, Delhi 1986.
- P.J Thomas *The growth of federal finance in India*, Oxford, 1939.
- Christophe Jaffrelot *La democracies en Inde* (1998), Engl Trans. forthcoming 2010 (CSAS)
- Taylor Sherman, *State violence and punishment in India* (2010)
- Srirupa Roy, *Beyond belief*

Ornir Shani	'Conceptions of citizenship and the Muslim question', MAS, 44, 1010.
*R Coupland	<i>Indian politics 1936-42. Report on the Constitutional Problem in India, London, 1943.</i>
*Jawaharlal Nehru,	<i>The Unity of India, London 1948</i>
*C Rajagopalachari	<i>Our Democracy, Madras, 1957</i>
S K Chaube	<i>The Constituent Assembly of India, Springboard of Revolution, Delhi 1973.</i>
D D Basu	<i>Introduction to the Constitution of India, (13th edn.), Delhi, 1987</i>
C H Alexandrowitz	<i>Constitutional developments in India, London 1957.</i>
Francine Frankel	<i>India's Political Economy, 1947-77. The Gradual Revolution, Princeton 1978</i>
S Kochanek	<i>The Congress Party in India, Princeton 1968</i>

b) The Nehru era: the 'Congress system'

Q. Was there a 'Congress system' in Nehru's India, and if so, why?

R. Kothari	'The Congress "System in India"', Asian Survey, 4, 2, 1964.
R. Kothari	<i>Politics in India</i>, Delhi 1970
W H Morris-Jones	<i>The Government and Politics of India</i>, London 1964
Ramchandra Guha	<i>India after Gandhi</i> (2007)
Francine Frankel,	<i>India's political economy 1947-77. The Gradual Revolution</i>, Princeton 1978
Benjamin Zachariah	<i>Developing India. An Intellectual and Social History c 1930-1950</i>, Delhi 2005.
Atul Kohli (ed.)	<i>India's Democracy</i>, Princeton 1988, (in particular see chapter by Manor)
Myron Weiner	<i>Party Building in a new Nation. The Indian National Congress</i>, Chicago 1968.
S Khilnani	<i>The Idea of India</i>, London 1997.
* Saroj Chakrabarty	<i>With Dr B C Roy and other Chief Ministers. A record up to 1962, Calcutta, 1974.</i>
*Atulya Ghosh	<i>The split. Indian National Congress</i> , Calcutta, 1980.
*Asok Mitra	<i>The new India 1948-1955. Memoirs of an Indian civil servant</i> , Bombay, 1991.
Judith Brown	<i>Nehru: a political life</i> , Yale 2003.
B Zachariah	<i>Nehru</i> , London 2004
Paul Brass,	<i>The Politics of India since Independence</i> , Cambridge 1990.
R. Roy, and R. Sisson, (ed.),	<i>Diversity and Dominance in Indian Politics</i> , 2 vols. New Delhi, 1990
Robert W Stern	<i>The Process of Opposition in India</i> , Chicago, 1970
S Kochanek	<i>The Congress Party in India</i> , Princeton 1968

c) Planning, development and the command economy

Q. 'The contribution of early decades of Indian planning has been integral to India's recent economic success.' Discuss.

Deepak Nayyar,	<i>Economics as Ideology and Experience. Essays in Honour of Ashok Mitra</i>, London 1998.
Terry Byres (ed.)	<i>Planning and Development</i>, 1994.
S Chakravarthi	<i>Development Planning: the Indian Experience</i>. 1990
B Datta.	<i>Indian Planning at the Crossroads</i>, Delhi, 1990
M Datta-Chaudhuri	'Market Failure and Government Failure' <i>Journal of Economic Perspectives</i> 1990
Frankel, F and Rao, M S	<i>A Dominance and State Power in Modern India: Decline of a Social Order</i> 1989
B Jalan(ed.)	<i>The Indian Economy</i>, 1994
Akohli	<i>Democracy and Discontent</i>, 1990
Rudolph, L & S. Rudolph	<i>In Pursuit of Lakshmi: The political economy of the Indian State</i>. 1987
Streeten, P and M. Lipton (eds.)	<i>The Crisis of Indian Planning</i>, 1968

R Wade 'The Market for Public Office: Why the Indian State is not Better at Development' *World Development*, 1985

Gunar Myrdal *Indian economic planning in its broader setting*, New Delhi 1958
 J K Bhattacharya 'Development planning and its impact on Union-State relations in India', *Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies*, 1, 1, 1967.

Topic 22: Language, region and the challenges of federalism, India, 1947-70

Q. Why did so many regional language movements erupt in India the 1950s and 60s?

Granville Austin *The Indian constitution. Cornerstone of a nation* (Ch 12)
P.R. Brass *Language, Religion and Politics in North India* (2005 edn).
B.R. Nayar *Minority Politics in Punjab*, Princeton 1966
C R King, *One language, two scripts. The Hindi movement in 19th century India*, Bombay 1995.

J Das Gupta *Language conflict and national development*, California 1970
Amrit Rai, *A House divided. The origin and development of Hindi/Hindavi*, Delhi 1984.
Myron Weiner *Sons of the Soil*, Princeton 1978.

Sumathi Ramaswamy, *Passions of the tongue. Language devotion in Tamil India, 1891-1970*, Berkeley, 1997.

J Chatterji, *Spoils of Partition*, Ch 2

*Report of the States Reorganisation Committee, 1955

*Report of the Official Language Commission (1956), (Government of India Press), New Delhi, 1957. (UL Official Publications room)

*S K Chatterji *Languages and the linguistic problem* (OUP Bombay, 1945)

MR . Barnett *The Politics of Cultural Nationalism in South India*, Princeton 1976

A.J. Wilson & D. Dalton (ed), *The States of South Asia: Problems of National Integration*. Hurst, 1982

M. Weiner (ed), *State Politics in India*, Princeton 1968

I. Narain (ed), *State Politics in India*, Meerut 1976.

Weiner and Katzenstein, *India's Preferential Politics: Migrants, the Middle Classes and Ethnic Equality*. Chicago, 1982.

F. Frankel and M. S. A. Rao (eds.) *Dominance and State Power*. 2 vols.

Franda, M *West Bengal and the federalising process in India*, Princeton, 1968.

A Farouqui (ed.) *Redefining Urdu politics in India*, New Delhi, 2006.

**** Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* is evocative on this period.

Topic 23: Challenges to democracy in India:

a) The Emergency and its legacies

Q. 'The chief victim of the Emergency was the Congress party.' Discuss.

Francine Frankel *India's Political Economy*, chs. 10-13. (detailed account of the background to the Emergency)

R. Blackburn (ed), *Explosion in a Sub-Continent*, London 1975

Emma Tarlo *Unsettling Memories: Narratives of the Emergency*. London, 2002.

S Kaviraj 'Indira Gandhi and Indian Politics' *EPW* nos. 38 & 39, (1986).

S Kaviraj 'A Critique of the Passive Revolution' *EPW*, nos.45-7, Special Issue, 1988.

R Kothari, 'The Crisis of the Moderate State and the Decline of Democracy' in Peter Lyon and James Manor (eds.) *Transfer and Transformation*, Leicester, 1977.

E. Tarlo, 'From Victim to Agent: Memories of the Emergency from a Resettlement Colony in Delhi'
Economic and Political Weekly, November 18, 1995.

R Kothari, *State Against Democracy*, New Delhi, 1975.

B D Dua and James Manor, *Nehru to the Nineties. The changing office of Prime Minister in India*,
Hurst 1994

David Selbourne *In theory and Practice. Essays on the Politics of Jayaprakash Narayan*,
Oxford 1985.

*Dilip Hiro *Inside India Today*. Michigan 1976

*Kuldip Nayar *Between the lines*, Delhi 1969

*Kuldip Nayar *In Jail*, New Delhi 1978.

*D Selbourne *An Eye to India. The unmasking of a tyranny*, London 1976

*Z Masani, *Indira Gandhi, a biography*. 1976

Henry C. Hart (ed.) *Indira Gandhi's India: a political system reappraised*. Westview, 1976

T. V. (ed.) Satyamurthy *State and Nation in the Context of Social Change*. Delhi, 1994.

M Weiner 'The 1977 Parliamentary Elections in India', *Asian Survey*, 1977.

J Manor 'Where Congress Survived: five states in the Indian general election of 1977',
Asian Survey, 1978.

H W Blair 'Mrs Gandhi's Emergency, the Indian Elections of 1977, Pluralism and
Marxism: Problems with Paradigms' *MAS* 14:2 (1981).

U Baxi *The Indian Supreme Court and Politics*, Lucknow, 1980.

A. R. Desai. (ed.) *Violation of Democratic Rights in India*. Delhi, 1986.

S. Visvanathan (ed.) *Foul Play: Chronicles of Corruption* (Bombay, 1998)

S Kaviraj 'On the Crisis of Political Institutions in India' *Contributions to Indian
Sociology* 1984.

A Gupta 'Blurred Boundaries: the discourse of corruption, the culture of politics and the
imagined state' *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 22, 2 (1995), pp. 375 - 402.

**** Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* vividly depicts the Emergency and its terrors.

b) the rise of Hindu nationalism

Q. Account for the rise of Hindutva in the 1980s?

Q. Was it caste politics that determined the rise of Hindu nationalism in the late 1980s?

Ornit Shani *Communalism, Caste and Hindu Nationalism* , Cambridge 2007

T. Basu, et al, *Khaki Shorts, Saffron Flags* _ London, (1993)

Thomas Blom Hansen *The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India*
Princeton, 1999

Christophe Jaffrelot *Hindu Nationalist Movement, 1925-1992: Social and Political Strategies* London,
1996.

T. B. Hansen, and C. Jaffrelot (eds.) *The BJP and the Compulsions of Politics in India*. Delhi, 1998

D.Ludden (ed.) *Contesting the Nation* Pennsylvania, 1997.

Basu, A. and A. Kohli (eds.) *Community Conflicts and the State in India*. Delhi, 1998.

S. Bose and A. Jalal (eds) *Nationalism, Development and Democracy in South Asia*. (essay by Sumantra
Bose)

A Varshney *Ethnic conflict and civic life. Hindus and Muslims in India*, Yale 2002.

S I Wilkinson *Votes and violence. Electoral competition and ethnic riots in India*, 2004.

Christopher Jafferlot *India's Silent Revolution* 2006

B.D Graham *Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics: the Origins and Development of the Bharatiya
Jana Sangh*, Cambridge, 1990.

Mushirul Hasan, 'Indian Muslims since Independence' *Third World Quarterly*., 1988.

A Nandy et al *Creating A Nationality: The Ramjanmabhumi Movement and Fear of the Self* Oxford,
1995.

W. Anderson & Damle *The Brotherhood in Saffron The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangha*. Westview 1997.

- P Van Der Veer *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India*, 1994
 Mushirul Hasan, *The Legacy of a Divided Nation: Muslims in India since Independence*, Delhi, 1997.
- S Gopal. (ed.) *The Anatomy of a Confrontation: Ayodhya*, New Delhi, 1990
 Brass, P. R. *Theft of an Idol* 1996.
- Roy, Ramashray and Paul Wallace, *Indian Politics and the 1998 Election: Regionalism, Hindutva and State Politics*, New Delhi: Sage, 1999.
Economic and Political Weekly, Special Election Issue, 21-28 August 1999.
Journal of Democracy Vol 9, no. 3 (1998) essays by A. Kohli, J. Manor and A. Varshney on India
- Paul Brass *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*, Washington 2005
- R Chandavarkar 'Customs of Governance: Colonialism and Democracy in Twentieth Century India', *MAS*, 41, 3, 199

*** Lalit Vachani's 'Men in the tree' is an interesting documentary on the Hindutva movement and its ideology.

Topic 24: India's political economy and liberalisation since 1990

Q. Assess the impact of market reforms on India's economy since 1990.

- M Alhuwalia and I.M.D.Little, (eds.) *India's Economic Reforms and Development: Essays for Manmohan Singh* Delhi OUP 1998
- P Bardhan *The Political Economy of Development in India*, 1989.
 J Bhagwati *India in Transition* Oxford, 1993
- C. P. Chandrashekhar, and Jayati Ghosh, *The Market that failed: a decade of neo-liberal economic reforms in India*, 2000
- R Crook and J. Manor [Democracy and Decentralisation in South Asia and West Africa: Participation, Accountability and Performance](#) 1998
- Dreze and Sen *A. Indian Development: Selected Regional Perspectives* Delhi and Oxford, 1997
- Corbridge and Harriss, J. *Reinventing India: Liberalisation, Hindu Nationalism and Popular Democracy* Cambridge Polity Press 2000
- R. Jenkins *Democratic Politics and Economic Reform in India*. Cambridge, 2000.
 Kaur, K. and Bawa, R.S. Expenditure on Social Sectors and Incidence of Poverty in India: An Inter-State Analysis *Indian Journal of Regional Science* Vol. XXXII, pp. 96-105, 2000
- A Krueger (ed.) *Economic Policy Reforms and the Indian Economy* The University of Chicago Press 2002
- P Patnaik 'Imperialism and the growth of Indian Capitalism' in R. Owen & B. Sutcliffe (eds), *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism*. 1979
- Sachs, Bajpai, and Varshney (eds.) *India in the Era of Economic Reforms* Oxford. 2001
- A Sinha *The regional roots of developmental politics in India*, Indiana University Press, 2005
- R. Jenkins 'Theorising the Politics of Economic Adjustment: Lessons from the Indian Case' *Journal of Comparative and Commonwealth Politics* Vol. 33, no. 1 (1995), pp. 1- 24.
- A. Kohli *Democracy and Discontent*, ch. 11.
 B. Jalan (ed.) *The Indian Economy*. Delhi (1994)
 A. Bhaduri & D Nayyar *The Intelligent Person's Guide to Economic Liberalization*
 J. Dreze and A. Sen *India: Development and Participation* Delhi and Oxford Oxford University Press (2002)

Topic 25: Constitution-making and the challenges of federalism, Pakistan, 1940-70

Q. Why have successive governments in Pakistan, civilian or military, failed to satisfactorily accommodate regional aspirations?

- H. Alavi** 'The Politics of Ethnicity in India and Pakistan' in Alavi, H. & John Harris (eds), *South Asia*.
- Paula Newburg** *Judging the state. Courts and constitutions in Pakistan* (1995).
- Katherine Adeney** *Federalism and ethnic conflict resolution in India and Pakistan*, (2006)
- H Alavi,** 'Pakistan and Islam: Ethnicity and Ideology' in F. Halliday and H. Alavi (ed.) *State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan*. London, 1988.
- A. Jalal,** *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia*, Cambridge 1995
- A Jalal** *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence*, Cambridge, 1990
- DA Low** *The Political Inheritance of Pakistan*, Macmillan, 1991
- K Adeney** 'Constitutional centring: nation formation and constitutional centring in India and Pakistan, *JCCP*, 40,3,2002.
- R Malik** 'The politics of one unit 1955-58', Lahore, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Punjab, 1988
- Y Samad** *A Nation in Turmoil, Nationalism and Ethnicity in Pakistan, 1937-58*, New Delhi (Sage) 1998.
- M Waseem** *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, Islamabad 1994.
- William B Milla,** *Bangladesh and Pakistan. Flirting with failure in South Asia* (2009)
- Ayisha Siquqqa** *Military inc* (2009)
- * *Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan*, 1956.
- * *Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan*, 1973.
- *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, *If I am assassinated*. New Delhi 1979.
- H Rashid and J Gardezi, (ed.), *Pakistan: the Roots of a Dictatorship*, London, 1983 (especially the article by Hamza Alavi)
- Ivor Jennings *Constitutional Problems in Pakistan*, Cambridge 1958.
- Khan and Rahman *Provincial autonomy and constitution-making: the case of Bangladesh*, 1973.
- S P Cohen *The Pakistan Army*, Oxford, (1998 edition)
- R Nations 'The economic structure of Pakistan and Bangladesh' in R Blackburn (ed.), *Explosion in A Sub-continent*, Harmondsworth, 1975
- I Talbot *Pakistan, a modern history*, London 1998.
- O. Noman *The Political Economy of Pakistan*, London 1988.
- C. Jaffrelot (ed.) *Pakistan: Nationalism before Nation*, New York 2002.
- H. Alavi 'Nationhood and Communal Violence in Pakistan' *Journal of Contemporary Asia* Vol. 21, no. 2 (1991).
- Nasr, S.V.R. 'The Rise of Sunni Militancy in Pakistan: the changing role of Islamism and the Ulema in Society and Politics' *Modern Asian Studies*, 2000.
- Veena Das (ed) *Mirrors of Violence: Communities, Riots and Survivors in South Asia*. Oxford, 1990, essays by Farida Shaheed and Akmal Hussain (on the Pathan-Muhajir riots in Karachi)
- D. Allen, (ed.) *Religion and Political Conflict in South Asia: India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka* Delhi, 1992, chs 4-6.
- O. Veerkaaik *Migrants and Militants: Fun and Violence in Urban Pakistan*, (Princeton, 2004)
- S.S. Harrison *In Afghanistan's Shadow. Baluch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations*, Washington 1988.
- H Donnan, H & P. Werbner (eds.) *Economy and Culture in Pakistan: Migrants and Cities in a Muslim Society* (1991).
- S. Akbar Zaidi, (ed) *Regional Imbalances and the National Question in Pakistan* 1992.
- Hussain, M. and Akmal Hussain *Pakistan: Problems of Governance* (1993).

*** An interesting and controversial novel on Pakistan's first decades is Salman Rushdie's *Shame*.

Topic 26: Conflict and war in the Indian subcontinent: Kashmir

Q. Why has the Kashmir dispute been so intractable?

- Alistair Lamb, *The Incomplete Partition: the Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute*, Hertingfordbury, 1997
- Balraj Puri *Kashmir: Towards Insurgency*, Delhi, 1994 (DS485.K27 P98)
- Ian Copland 'Lord Mountbatten and the Integration of the Indian States-a Reappraisal', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 21, 2, 1993.
- Sumantra Bose *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace*, Cambridge Mass, 2000.
- Chitralekha Zutshi *Languages of Belonging. Islam, Regional Identity and the Making of Kashmir*, Delhi, 2004.
- Mridu Rai *Hindu Rulers, Muslims Subjects: the history of Kashmir*, Hurst, 2004.
- Alistair Lamb *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy, 1846-1990*, Hertfordshire, 1991.
- M J Akbar *Kashmir: Behind the Vale*, Calcutta, 1991 DS485. K27 A31
- S M Ali *The Fearful State: Power, People and Internal War in South Asia*, London, 1993
- R G C Thomas (ed.) *Perspectives on Kashmir: the Roots of Conflict in South Asia*, 1992.
- Ashgar Ali Engineer *A Secular Crown on Fire*, Delhi, 1993.
- C. Dasgupta *War and Diplomacy in Kashmir 1947-48*, Sage, Delhi, 2002
- Victoria Schofield *Kashmir in Conflict*, London 2000
- Robert G Wirsing, *India, Pakistan and the Kashmir Dispute*, Macmillan, 1994.

Topic 27: Bangladesh: war, militancy and militarism

Q. Why has the military been so important to the politics of Bangladesh?

Q Assess the significance of Islam in the politics of Bangladesh.

- T Maniruzzaman *The Bangladesh Revolution and its Aftermath*, Dhaka, 1980
- R Sisson and L Rose *War and Secession: Pakistan, India and the Creation of Bangladesh*, Berkeley, 1990.
- H Feldman *The End and the Beginning, Pakistan, 1969-1971*, London, 1975
- A Jalal *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia*, Cambridge 1995.
- S Mahmud Ali *The Fearful State: Power, People and Internal War in South Asia*. London, 1993.
- H Karlekar *Bangladesh: the next Afghanistan?* Delhi 2005.
- William B. Millam *Bangladesh and Pakistan*.
- A Jalal 'Inheriting the Raj', *MAS*, 1985
- L Ziring *Bangladesh: From Mujib to Ershad: an interpretative study* (1992)
- R Sobhan *Bangladesh: Problems of Governance*. 1993.
- B Crow 'The State in Bangladesh: the Extension of a Weak State' in S. K. Mitra (ed.) *The Post-Colonial State in South Asia*
- G Rizvi *Bangladesh: The Struggle for the Restoration of Democracy*. 1985.
- G Rizvi 'Riding the Tiger: Institutionalising the Military Regimes in Pakistan and Bangladesh' in C. Clapham & G. Philip (eds), *The Political Dilemmas of Military Regimes*, London, 1985.
- S. M. Ali 'Civil-Military Relations in the Soft State: the Case of Bangladesh' European Network of Bangladesh Studies, Research Paper no. 1/6-94. (Copy in Centre of South Asian Studies Library.)
- P. J. Bertocci 'Bangladesh in the early 1980s: Praetorian Politics in an Intermediate Regime' *Asian Survey*, 1982.
- Rafiuddin Ahmed *Religion, Nationalism and Politics in Bangladesh*, New Delhi, 1990.
- Rafiuddin Ahmed (ed.) *Bangladesh: Society, Religion and Politics* 1985.

Rafiuddin Ahmed (ed.) *Islam in Bangladesh: Society, Culture and Politics* 1983.
H Mutalib and T. Hashmi (eds.) *Islam, Muslims and the Modern State*. 1994.
N Kabeer 'The Quest for National Identity: Women, Islam and the State in Bangladesh'
Zillur Rahman Khan 'Islam and Bengali Nationalism' *Asian Survey* 1985.
Hartmann, B. & J.K. Boyce, *A Quiet Violence: View from a Bangladesh Village*.
K Gough and H P Sharma (eds.), *Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia*, New York, 1973, (section on Bangladesh).

** 'Meyebela: my Bengali girlhood' by Taslima Nasreen is a moving autobiography, well worth reading.
Tariq and Catherine Masud's film 'Muktir Gaan- Songs of Liberation' (1995) on the Bangladesh war won critical acclaim, as did their more recent reflection on the history of Bangladesh, 'Matir Moyna - The Clay Bird' (2006).

Topic 28: Globalisation, Inequality and the Politics of Culture

'Liberalization in India has merely perpetuated old hierarchies and entitlements.' Discuss.

Guha, Ramchandra	India after Gandhi, 2007
Rajagopal, Arvind.,	Politics After Television
Roy, Srirupa	Beyond Belief: India and the Politics of Postcolonial Nationalism,
	2006
R. Dwyer & C. Pinney (ed.)	Pleasure and the Nation: History, Politics and Culture of Consumption
Martha C Nussbaum,	<i>Democracy, Religious Violence and the Future of India, 2007</i>
Raju and Crawley (ed.),	<i>Satellites over South Asia</i>
W. Mazzerella	<i>Shoveling Smoke: Advertising and Globalization in Contemporary India, 2003</i>
P J. Assayag & C. Pinney (ed.)	<i>Globalization in India: perspectives from below, 2005</i>
Fuller and Narasimhan	'Information Technology Professionals and the New-Rich Middle Class in Chennai (Madras)', <i>MAS</i> , 2007
Edward Luce	<i>In spite of the Gods: The Strange Rise of Modern India, 2006</i>

Topic 29 Sri Lanka

- How distinct was the British colonialism of Sri Lanka from that of India, and would you use the term partition to describe the legacy of colonialism for the relationship between the island and the mainland?
- To what extent is the post-colonial history of Sri Lanka the history of Sinhala Buddhist nationalism and its discontents?

a) British colonialism

K. M. De Silva, A History of Sri Lanka, London, 1981.

Michael Roberts, Sinhala Consciousness in the Kandyan period 1590s to 1815 (Colombo, 2004)

John Rogers, 'Post-Orientalism and the Interpretation of Premodern and Modern Political Identities: The Case of Sri Lanka' in *Journal of Asian Studies*, 1994.
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